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844 less of the sex of the baby. The mother's family gave the bearer of the good news a tip of about 100 coppers and sent, by him, a return gift that was usually a basket of eggs.

846 Three days after the birth of a child, friends and relatives came to bring their congratulations. Many brought presents, generally food.
431 Members of the mother's family came and brought special food, such as eggs, wheat flour, or noodles for the mother and special clothes for the baby.

846 Nine days after the birth the father's family prepared a feast for their friends and relatives including the mother's mother, aunts, and other relatives. The guests brought gifts for the baby. Middle class families gave silver presents, bracelets, necklaces marked with the characters for good luck and long life, or silver coins. Workers' families generally gave money, about fifty coppers. This celebration on the ninth day apparently was the Ting Hsien equivalent of the first month celebration that was customary in other parts of China.

During the first month after birth no strangers or pregnant women were allowed to enter the mother's room, as it was believed that their presence would disturb the mother's milk. If a stranger or a pregnant woman should intrude, the danger could be avoided if the intruder immediately exchanged belts with the mother. Certain phrases were also reported to be tabu for the mother, as they were thought to make it difficult for her to nurse her child.

When a baby was one month old its maternal grandmother came to invite the mother and child to visit her family. According to custom the visit should be for one hundred days. On the way to her home the mother usually scattered a handful of grain, usually millet, or coins at each crossroads. This was to purchase the use of the road from the spirits, who, it was thought, must be placated lest they bring misfortune to the mother and child. Cash used to be used but as they gradually disappeared their place was taken by the ten cash coppers. One rich family was reported to have scattered silver dollars at the crossroads. This custom and belief appeared to be gradually losing their hold on the people.

852 When a child returned from this visit to its mother's home it was
302 customary to shave its head.

When a child was one year old a tray with a book, a bunch of flowers,
852 a piece of tile, and a small hoe, or a pair of scissors, if the child was a

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585 of the groom's attendants threw a small cake over the gate. These indicated that the family would be more fortunate and prosperous after the wedding.

When the bride walked from the sedan-chair to the house cloth was put down so that she did not step on the ground. A saddle was placed on the door so that the bride stepped over it as she entered the house. As the Chinese words for saddle and peace have the same sound, the bride brought peace to her husband's family. Flowers were put down the back of the bride's dress as the word combination ju i means to bring good fortune. Sometimes straw was used instead of flowers. Chenille flowers were given to the bride in order to bring her good fortune.

On her arrival at the groom's home the bride bowed before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth as the groom had done before he set out for her home.

Friends and relatives gathered for the wedding, to congratulate the bride and groom and to join in the celebration. A feast was served for all the visitors. After the feast the bride's matron of honor invited the groom's parents and grandparents to worship before the tablet of the God of Heaven and Earth. Three cups of wine were offered to the gods. Later another three cups of wine were offered to the family ancestors. Then the older members of both families bowed to each other, congratulated each other, and pledged the future friendship of the families. The matron of honor, representing the bride's family, then said to the older members of the groom's family "We congratulate you on the happy wedding of your son" or some similar phrase.

When this ceremony had been finished the older members of the two families went to the nuptial chamber to see the bride and groom and make sure that everything had been properly arranged. Then the guests and relatives all congratulated the groom's parents. When the bride and groom stepped into the nuptial chamber the musicians hired for the occasion commenced to play.

522 The younger relatives and friends teased the bride and groom, made
585 jokes about them, and carried on the sport far into the night. The lamp in the wedding chamber was kept lighted throughout the wedding night, as putting it out would bring bad luck to the couple and it was believed that whichever one put out the lamp would be the first one to die.

431 Presents were given the bride and groom by friends and relatives. The
585

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close relatives of the bride usually gave clothing or jewelry. They sent their gifts a few days before the wedding so that they could go in the bride's chests when they were sent to the groom's home. For well-to-do families these presents might cost anywhere from four or five dollars up to 40 or 50 dollars.

Other relatives and friends usually brought their gifts when they came to the wedding. An "Account Book for the Wedding Gifts" was prepared and a man was asked to serve as secretary and enter in the book all the presents as they were received. The presents were generally scrolls, couplets, pictures, and money. Scrolls cost from $1.00 up to $10.00. Sometimes several friends joined together to give a specially fine one of silk or satin with gilt characters. Pictures cost from fifty cents up. A favorite picture, of a young mother holding a baby, carried with it the wish that a son might soon be born to the couple. Money presents usually ranged from fifty cents to $4.00. The money gifts all helped the family meet the expenses of the wedding.

The expenses of a wedding naturally varied with the financial status of the family, but almost always represented a relatively heavy expenditure. In Peking the cost of a group of weddings ranged from 1.5 to 9.0 times the monthly family income, but for one-half of them the expenditure was from 4.0 to 4.5 months income.[1]

A rough estimate made by our field workers of the total expense of a wedding in Ting Hsien was, for the groom's family, $200 for a wealthy family, $100 for a middle class family, and $50 for a lower class family. For the bride's family the expense would generally be about twice that of the groom's family, $400, $200, and $80. The average annual income of our 1,220 home industry families was $185. (See Chapter IV). For our 400 farm families the average was $247. (See Chapter III).

Food for the guests was four or five dollars per table of eight persons for a well-to-do family, two to three dollars per table for the poorer families. The dowry for the bride, which might cost from $15 to $100, usually included two pairs of boxes, a clock, a pair of jars, and a pair of mirrors. Often these conventional articles were rented from the sedan-chair shop, if the family could not afford them but wanted to make a proper showing when the bride's things were sent to her new home.

In some cases, where it was impossible for a family to finance a wed-

1. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

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585 ding, they went through the formalities of an engagement for their daughter while she was still very young and with the understanding that she should go to live in the home of her future husband. The wedding was held when she and her fiancé were older but without any display or special recognition. An engagement of this sort naturally meant a great loss of face to the family and there seemed to be a general feeling that a match made that way was not quite in the same class as one made in the usual fashion. In 5,255 families in the 1st District there were only two girls listed as future daughters-in-law.

The day after the wedding the bride and groom went to pay a visit to her parents. A feast was served by her family in honor of the couple. After the feast the groom was presented to all the members of her family. The couple returned home in a cart provided by her family. The bride was then presented to all the older members of her husband's family. Later she was taken to visit the homes of her husband's relatives. Every family that she visited gave her a present of "visiting money", which might be from fifty cents up to one dollar but was never less than ten coppers.

On the fourth day after the wedding the bride's family sent two carts and invited the newly married couple to stay six days with them. On the sixth day the couple returned home in a cart sent by the groom's family.

Usually on the sixth or seventh day after New Year's following the wedding the bride's family sent a cart for the bridal couple and invited them to come for a visit that would last until the 16th of the month, over the Feast of Lanterns. Ordinarily this invitation was given for only the first New Year after the wedding, but enough well-to-do families did it for three years for the Chinese to have a proverb that says, "For the first three years a bride is not permitted to see the lanterns in the home of her mother-in-law".

After the wedding the bride was expected to make a pair of shoes for every member of her husband's family and to do the housework under the direction of her mother-in-law.

585 431 On the Dragon Festival, the fifth of the fifth month, after the wedding the bride's family sent a present of fish, meat, fruit, millet, and other foods to the groom's family. Again on the ninth of the ninth month the women of the bride's family all helped to make a special cake, about one foot long, to be sent to the groom's family. The cake contained sugar, dates, chestnuts, etc., again making the date, chestnut wish for children.

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for the friends and relatives who came for the memorial service; paper houses, paper servants, paper rolls of cloth, paper flowers, paper models of any article of which the dead was particularly fond were purchased; bands were hired to furnish music; sometimes troupes of actors were engaged to give plays; Taoist or Buddhist monks (or both) were called in to hold services for the soul of the departed. These services were generally held both before and on the day of the funeral.

When the father or mother of a family died every one in the family, men, women, and children, put on mourning clothes of white coarse cloth, and a white sash, a white cap, and white shoes. Near male relatives wore white caps and shoes. Near female relatives wrapped a white cloth around their head. Friends or distant relatives wore a piece of white cloth pinned to their coat. Full mourning clothes were worn until after the funeral, but some sign of mourning, usually white shoes and sometimes a white button on a hat, was worn for two and a half years for a father and three years for a mother.

Friends and relatives who came to pay their respects to the dead and condole with the family usually burned some mourning papers and bowed or kotowed four times before the coffin. The sons of the family knelt at the left side of the coffin and returned the bows or kotows. Along with the mourning papers some visitors burned paper money to help provide funds for the spirit of the deceased. This cost about 20 cents.

Relatives and friends generally brought or sent some gifts. Meat, wheat cakes, fruit, and other food were often sent to help furnish the food for the visitors. Other presents were white scrolls, cloth curtains with gilt paper characters pinned to them expressing laudatory statements concerning the deceased or expressions of condolence, and money, usually from 100 coppers up to $1.00.

On the day of the funeral, before the coffin was carried out, the chief monk stood before the tablet of the dead and with the other monks read the Buddhist scriptures. A member of the family took a broom and a winnowing basket and swept the coffin to make sure that money would come into the house instead of being left outside. The sons knelt before the coffin and burned yellow papers, putting them in a small basin that had stood at the head of the coffin. As the coffin moved from the house this bowl was broken to signify that the mourning services were over. This bowl usually had a hole in the bottom as it was be-

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565 735 The question may now be raised as to where our forty-eight families belong. If the receiving of relief be used as a criterion to determine the classification of families, it is clear that, since thirty-two of the families have received relief from one charitable agency or another, two-thirds of them belong to the poor class while the remaining third are of the lower middle class. Yet it may be urged that the receiving of relief is sometimes invalid as a criterion, for it is often found impossible to tell whether all those who receive relief are really deserving or whether those independent of charity are capable of maintaining their subsistence adequately. It is commonly known that some poor people refuse to accept any relief even at the expense of privation and suffering simply because they consider it below their dignity to do so whereas many accept it as a matter of course, as the additional income would not involve any corresponding effort or labour on their part. The table of incomes in Appendix I shows clearly that the families receiving relief were not necessarily those with low incomes. From these observations it may be concluded that the receiving of alms or relief can hardly be relied upon as an adequate criterion to determine the economic status of the families.

431 565 735 In this connection, it is important to note the prominent place occupied by the presents and gifts in the family incomes. A perusal of the table of incomes[1] will find that the item of presents and gifts occurs in the account of every family. Excluding the families receiving less than four dollars during the six months, which amount we estimate as equivalent to the presents given by our investigators and those in kind given by relatives or friends, we find that twenty out of the forty-eight families had received presents, of which the value in money varied from four to twenty-two dollars. While they were all no doubt given to the families as presents, yet, strictly speaking, at least some of them seemed to partake of the nature of relief in the sense that the money or food was offered at one time or another to help tide over straitened circumstances. For in China, the sense of kinship being still held in high esteem, persons are obliged to offer assistance to

[1] See Appendix I.

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565 their poor relatives, while in reality many of the presents thus
735 offered are by no means different from relief, except that the
431 donor is a relative or friend in the former case and a stranger or an agency in the latter case. It has also been found that the presents these families received far exceeded those given by them to others,[1] a noteworthy fact which clearly suggests that the presents in the former case should be understood as some measure of relief offered by close relatives or friends. Now if we follow this line of reasoning and classify under the poor class those families receiving presents amounting to more than four dollars during the six months, there would remain twenty-eight families which were really self-supporting.

565 Another way of determining the economic status of each
735 family would be to study the earnings received by its members and
434 see if they were sufficient to cover the total expenditure. It will be found from the foregoing table that while only fourteen of the families had sufficient income and also some surplus, thirty-four of them must have relied upon other sources of income, notably presents and relief, to make their ends meet.

As earnings constitute but a part of the total income of each family, its economic status may also be determined by the balance sheet of its total income and expenditure. Taking total income, instead of mere earnings, into consideration, one will find in Table 2 that the number of families with a surplus was appreciably greater. Of the forty-eight families, twenty-seven had each a surplus after their expenditures were met, while twenty-one were found to have each a deficit. Accordingly, it may be said that almost three-fifths of the families under investigation were above the poor class.

565 Obviously none of the above mentioned figures denoting the
735 status of the families can be called conclusive. Yet they all seem to suggest that by and large the families are all on the margin of poverty. It appears that between twenty and twenty-eight families may be considered as of the lower middle class while the

[1] For Social Expenses, see Table 11 (in Chap. V.) or Appendix II.

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Next to wage-earnings, presents and gifts figured prominently in the income, their nature having been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] It should be borne in mind that meals taken free of charge by members at the homes of relatives or friends were considered as presents, for it has been a practice in some families to have their children board with their relatives for a sufficiently long period in the year. Meals so supplied are in fact relief in the form of presents. Relief formed but an insignificant part, it being less than one per cent of the total average income per family. Rent, as a rule, does not constitute a regular source of income for these families, though three of them had received incomes either from land or from rickshas.

As shown in Table 9, the total average amount of expenditure per family in six months was $101.45. The percentage of this sum was distributed thus: food, 71.2 per cent; fuel, light and water, 11.3 per cent; house rent, 7.5 per cent; clothing, 6.8 per cent; miscellaneous, 3.1 per cent.

Little need be discussed here on food, clothing and house rent, as they will be more fully treated in subsequent chapters. That fuel, light and water should have absorbed more than 11 per cent of the total average expense per family and become the next biggest item after food is certainly striking and calls for consideration.

Water alone formed almost one per cent of the total average expense and its quantity consumed per capita per day was on the average about 7.3 litres. In Peking, the majority of families has to buy water from carriers who make it a monopoly to bring it from the well or the water main to the consumer. It is a usual practice for each family to pay a lump sum every month to the carrier who supplies to it a specified quantity of water every day. For a family of two, a charge of fifteen cents per month is generally made and the water supplied to it is about 420 litres. The price of water must be considered high in Peking. As every drop of water has to be transported by human labour from the

[1] See supra pp. 20-22

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a month for one-half the income groups. The maximum was only 95 cents per month.

It has been interesting to note the many occasions on which the Chinese give gifts to friends and relatives. The following were all mentioned in the accounts: New Year's, birthdays, betrothals, weddings; when a three-day-old baby was given its first bath, when the baby was a month old; moving from one house to another; funerals, anniversary of death, reinterment. Some of the gifts were paper or cloth scrolls, artificial flowers, fruit, cloth, toys for the children, but a majority were gifts of money. The expenses connected with any special occasion are usually relatively large. Few families have any large surplus on which they can draw, and borrowing money means heavy interest charges. By giving money the Chinese spread somewhat the burden of the expenses. In some of the wedding and funeral accounts given in Chapter X, the amount of the gifts received was even more than the total expenditure. Most families keep a careful record of these gifts, so that any return present may be commensurate with the one received. Money given for a wedding or birthday party ordinarily goes to the person giving the party, rather than to the bride or the guest of honor, though sometimes relatives and intimate friends give them money or a present, in addition to the money given for the feast.

Six families reported money won or lost by gambling, most of it at New Year's time. Ordinarily the amounts were small, $5 or less, but one family in the $35 group lost $15, and one in the $10 group lost $20. The latter family—a couple and two small children, the husband a rickscha man—had an income of some $14 a month. In spite

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of losing $20 at New Year's, they were able to save $13 during the year. This they used to repay money they had borrowed, and even made a loan to another family. One family in the $200 group was given money by a group of gamblers who came to the house for their games. During a period of three months this amounted to $68.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The heading, "Contributions," *chuan hsiang,* includes money given to needy persons, gifts made to religious and charitable organizations, and amounts sent to parents or other relatives not members of the Peiping family group. House taxes originally were entered under this heading, as the Chinese families apparently consider them to be a form of contribution; but they were shifted from contributions to incidentals when the accounts were transcribed.

One hundred and thirty-nine families gave money to persons outside the family, or to organizations, or sent money to their relatives. Thirty-nine families reported sending money home. All had incomes of less than $100 a month. For 22 of these families, the money sent to relatives was the only contribution entry. One hundred and seventeen families gave money to people or organizations outside the family, but the amounts were relatively small. The money given to relatives amounted to 63.5 per cent of the total contribution expenditure; and was 86 per cent of the total for the families with incomes of less than $100 a month. The average total contributions, to family and others, varied, for the families reporting, from $4.10 for the $80 group and $4.55 for the $25 group, to $42 for the $90 group, and $52.65 for the $60

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group. For all the families in the income groups the averages ranged from $1.35 for the $80 group, to $34.85 for the $300 group, and $36.50 for the $70 group. For only eight groups, however, was the average more than $10 a year. For individual families, the amounts varied from 1 cent to $150, but for only four families was the amount over $100.

Contributions amounted to less than 1 per cent of the average expenditure for one-half of the income groups. For only three groups, was the amount more than 1.5 per cent of the budget. The maximum, the average for the $70 group, was 4.1 per cent. There seems to be some tendency for the proportion to decrease somewhat in the higher income groups, but the tendency is slight, the amounts involved are small, and the proportion could be considerably changed by a slight difference in the expenditure of one or two families. For the families reporting, the contribution expenditure averaged less than 3 per cent of the family budget for all but five income groups. Those five groups all had incomes of less than $80 a month. The maximum was 7 per cent for the $70 group. (Table 35.)

A study of the contributions other than those sent to relatives, brings out some interesting figures. Eighty-seven per cent of the 59 families with one or more Christian members, three of the four Mohammedan families, and 28 per cent of all the other families, gave money to needy persons, or to charitable or religious organizations. The average contribution per family reporting was $12 for the families with Christian members; $7.40 for the Mohammedan families; and $2.70 for the other families. In comparing these averages, however, it must be remembered that 47 per cent of the families with incomes of

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a relatively small one, and cost only $69.30, or some two-sevenths of a month's income. If we can judge from figures secured in another study, the family will probably spend from 2.5 to 3 months' income when they celebrate his sixtieth birthday.[1] The even decades, fifty, sixty, seventy, are usually the times of special celebration.[2]

The spending at one time of an amount equal to three, four, or five months' income is apt to be a serious financial burden for any family. This is especially true for many of the Peiping families, as they have so little margin or surplus. In order to distribute the burden somewhat and make it possible for friends and relatives to help meet the extraordinary expenses, it is the custom in Peiping to give presents of money at the time of weddings, funerals and birthdays. Other presents are often sent: as wedding gifts, cloth, flowers, food, objects for personal use; red scrolls and red banners inscribed with wishes for health, wealth and long life; as funeral gifts, cloth, special food to be set before the dead, and—to be burned—scrolls of white silk or paper, wreaths of artificial flowers, paper money; as birthday presents, wine, flowers, food, the latter often including peaches, bread and noodles, as these connote long life. For this group of families, however, the money presents were much the largest and the most numerous. The amounts received for the weddings varied from $27 to $600, for the funerals from $3.45 to $300. The birthday presents amounted to $8. In some cases, the presents came to more than the entire cost of the wedding or funeral, but ordinarily the wedding presents amounted to one-quarter or one-half, and the funeral presents from one-fifth to one-half, the total expenditure.

[1] No. 16. [2] No. 12.

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511 x 431 The fact that wedding and birthday presents go to the person giving the feast, rather than to the guest of honor, is evidence that presents of money are definitely given to help the family meet its unusual expenses. Additional presents of money are sometimes made direct to the guest of honor, but only by the family and close friends. Such gifts, of course, do not appear in the accounts.

511 x 585 In Peiping, a wedding means new clothes and a feast for both families; gifts from the groom to the bride, often a present of jewelry; the purchase of equipment for the new home by the bride's family, the sending of this equipment and the bride's belongings to the groom's home, the day before the wedding; the wedding procession with the bride riding in a specially decorated sedan chair, carriage, or automobile, usually accompanied by a band and carriers with banners, lanterns, and other decorations; and, finally, the wedding ceremony in the groom's home, or possibly in a restaurant, if the family follows the new wedding customs. The amount spent for the different items varies, of course, with the tastes and social position of the family, the amount they can spend on the wedding, and whether they follow the old wedding customs or adopt the new customs that seem to be gradually coming into use.

For the ten weddings studied, the expenditure for clothing varied from $21.35 to $414. The detailed accounts show that, for most of the families, a large part of this clothing expenditure was for cloth. In most of the families the new clothes were made in the home by the women of the household. Tailors were employed only by well-to-do families. One family paid $16.90 for making the new clothes, another $17.40, still another $25. In three

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465 431 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 524 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 526 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-